105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of
the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies
for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social
stratification with castes.

177 Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber
[797] worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred.
The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The
aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the
tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow,
but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental
culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is
[797] certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process
[584] of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must
[601] be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have
[595] shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age
[178] and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer
correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice
[262] polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano
Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical
[753] Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our
[178] interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with
his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia,
and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has
the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his
son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the
177 phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available
[128] for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit
[114] us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant,
• 115 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on
756 the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./

177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them. 622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settlement 595 and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano • 115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con- 554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

*

Cosmogony

539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5).

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

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It should not seem exaggerated to speak of an existence of intimate contact with the natives. Because not only our /7/ personal observations are recorded here. We tried to know and to listen to all the Salesian Missionaries who work along the rivers Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri, Içana, and Caburi; as well as the Montfort Missionaries who attended to the natives of the region bordering Colombia, since some of the tribes in the study have members living in the zone that today is part of Colombian territory. And, through the mercy of God, we had the happy opportunity to talk with Missionaries who have been living with the children of the forests and for them since 1916.

Therefore, this work, in the strict sense, is a contribution by the Salesian Missionaries to ethnographic studies that, if they are of interest in a general way to the students of the whole world, also speak to us, Brazilians, of political and patriotic interests.

121 These pages are a documentary on how the life of the forest people of the Uaupés or Caiarí runs its course in the middle of the twentieth century. By dint of an unyieldingly traditionalist mentality which characterizes these human groups, we may also think that they are, on general lines, a description of how they have lived for centuries, or perhaps even of how these tribes have lived since they acclimated themselves in their present habitat. Scarce data from the first explorers and information from the old natives justify this opinion.

Even though we enjoyed privileged conditions which other ethnologists have not had, or at least will not be able to have, the intractable depths of the native psyche takes from us the illusion of having unveiled their soul. We are also convinced that we do not yet know customs and practices of interest from the ethnological point of view, and the true meaning of many others escapes us. The primitive fantasy, all the more active the freer it is from the curb of reason and the inhibiting control of positive experience in that mysterious and suggestive environment of the millenary forest, will have built a legendary world with fascinating beauties for their souls, as if they were the

/36 cont./

Western Baniwas:

*101 Karútana (Baniwa of the Içana, in Santa Ana), including four classes: Mapátse-dákenei or Yurupari tapuya, Wádzoli-dákenei or Urubú-tapuya, Dzawí-mínanei or Yauareté-tapuya, and Adarú-mínanei or Arara-tapuya.

Kadaupuritana (with two forms: Baniwa of Tunuí and of the Mariuá)

Moríwene or Sukuružú-tapuya (Baniwa of Seringa-Rupitá)

Walíperi-dakenei or Siwsí-tapuya (or Star-tapuya) (Baniwa of Carurú-poço, river Aiarí)

Hohódene (Baniwa of the Yandú-cachoeira, river Içana)

Máulieni (12) or Kawa-tapuya (Baniwa of the Uirá-uaçú, river Aiarí)

Payuliene or Pakú-tapuya (Baniwa of the Acutí-igarapé, river Içana)

Adyáneme, Adyána or Tatú-tapuya (Baniwa of Santa Rosa, river Guainía)

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[115] 12. One of the excellent Siwsí informants gave us Máuri-weni as the translation, in his language, of Káwa-tapúya. It is possible that he was mistaken. Among the few words of the native tongue still remembered by the Káwa-tapuyas of the locality of S. Joaquim, near Uapuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, is the name of the tribe itself, Aini, the name by which it is also indicated by other sister languages. (Cf. our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.)

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*101 • [115] [563] The informants of the Kubewana tribe, Heloisa and Josefa (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), both married to Wanana and living in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés, 1955), indicated, as the fifth division of their tribe, the "Bahúkakõ." In April of 1957, two other Kubewana or Korẽterabõa women (cf. IV -- 2, p), Nazaria and Byatrina, married to Yawareté-tapuya, and living in Arapaço-poço, locality on the river Içana close to the mouth of the river Aiarí, also gave us the Bahukõwa as the fifth division of their tribe.

Koch Grünberg, who visited them (Z.I. 278), confirms that the Bahuna are called Bahókõoa by the Kubewãna and live on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí.

(4) BEIJÚ -- Not mentioned in the other tribes. Pelo Rio Mar says only that it was missionized by Frei Gregório in 1852-3. The report by Jesuino Cordeiro gives the number of 187 persons of the Beijú tribe, who in 1853 lived in the povoado of Cubio-paraná.

[115] An old Wanana septuagenarian from Tipiaca (in 1954), José by name, informed us that a Beijú tribe that speaks only Kubewãna and calls itself Baxtoá lives in Cubio-igarape.

Other informants of the upper Uaupés assure us that only one subdivision of the Kubewãna (therefore of the Tukano family of languages), which is called "Awekõ" in its own idiom, is known under the name of Beijú.

(5) CAINATARI -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar they are the Acanyatara-tapuia, who are found on the river Castanho, tributary of the Tiquié.

/51/ The report by Jesuino Cordeiro, of 1853, locates 168 individuals of the Cainatarí nation in Pacú-cachoeira, recently settled there. By this location (region of the Wanana) one could be dealing with a Wanana subdivision, which, in its own idiom, is called "Witõ monõ," which means acangatara branca /white crest/.

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*101 (6) COCUANE. -- According to Curt Nimuendajú (in a letter dated from Belem on Sept. 1, 1945, to Padre Antônio Giacone), it is the tribe also known as Coeuana, which, in 1927, still had representatives in Jandiá and another two sites by the mouth of the Uaupés. They had, however, lost their own idiom and spoke only the Língua Geral (see above, II -- 6, a /p. 43 /). They were the Indians who more easily became adapted to civilization, and from whom many caboclos of the Rio Negro are descended.

In August of 1957, according to Atayde Inácio Cardoso of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Indio), there were still survivors of the Cocuana or Coianá in the town of S. Joaquim at the mouth of the Uaupés. [115] [773] João, the Tukano pajé /curer-sorcerer/ from Umarí (river Uaupés, a little above Iauretê-cachoeira), narrating the legends of the origins, says that the human beings started to ascend in the Cobra-grande /large snake/, and that "the Kuewĩna, who in Tukano are called Pe'tĩna, remained at the mouth of the Uaupés. But one of the Kwewĩna ascended as far as Taracuá-ponta and up to there was the limit of his lands."

(7) CUTIA. -- On the Içana there is a tribe known under the name of Cutia-tapuya, of the Arwake branch, whose name in the Baniva language would be Awadzurunái.

8) GIBOIA. -- Since during half of the last century many natives went from the Içana to the upper and lower Uaupés, we are inclined to think that the ones settled by Frei Gregório in Aracapurí are individuals of the žiboya-tapuya or Dzurẽnẽ tribe of the Içana, from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" by the Author and Boanari (II -- 6, a /p. 42 /).

/*52 cont.*/

*101 • [115] The old Wañana, José of Tipiaca, informed us of the existence of an Onça tribe, or *Yaí-maxsā* (as he expressed himself in Tukano), living at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, adding that they speak Kubewāna.

Another old man, a Tukano octogenarian from Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa by name, also affirmed the existence of a cannibal tribe that the Tukano call *Yaí-maxsā* (onça people) or *Yai-peri maxsā* (onça-teeth people) and that lives on the headwaters of the Tiquié.

14) *PICASSÚ*. -- It is a Nheengatú word that means *pomba* /dove/. Frei Gregório mentions the tribe *Picassú* in Mitú, on the Uaupés. We think it might be the tribe also called *Yurití*, located precisely on several igarapés between the rivers Paca and Uaupés in the vicinity of Mitú.

15) *PIRÁ-TAPUIA*. -- It is the great tribe that is found today in many places on the Uaupés and Papurí, and about which we give fuller information in this work (see below, IV -- 2, v /p. 164/).

/*53*/ 16) *QUATÍ*. -- They are the Coatí-tapuya who went up the Içana, on whose headwaters they still reside today. They belong to the *Arwake* linguistic family, and the name of the tribe in its own idiom is "*Kapité-minánei*."

17) *TABAIANA*. -- It is likewise not mentioned in the various lists. It is possible, however, that this is also a matter of a spelling mistake, and the tribe in question is the *Yabaana* (as Arthur Ramos writes, 170), or *Yabarana* (cf Koch G. -- *Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 205), of the Arwake group, almost extinct and whom Chestmir locates on the river Maruiá. In fact, on the map of Frei Gregório (April 1, 1853) only the name of a *Yabarana* woman residing in S. Joaquim

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/footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

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It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

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Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.
[563]
[582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

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2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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● [115] *[192] In all the cases of newborn children that we were able to observe, we found the characteristic *Mongolian spot*, purplish, oval, measuring approximately one centimeter in diameter or a little more and always in the gluteal region. The Tukano Antônio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, and others informed us that this spot is called *Wãx-tĩ-õtá* and is absolutely general. Although it ordinarily disappears after two or three months, it may, however, last one year or longer. The denomination *Wãx-tĩ-õtá*, feces of *Wãx-tĩ*, results, according to the legend, from the fact that the first newborn child was supposed to have been laid on a place where there were feces of *Wãx-tĩ* (cf. VII-4, d (5)), which soiled him.

142 Roundish face, at times widening toward the cheeks, as a *gastronomic type*: or even narrowing into a double triangle toward the forehead. This is receding and, in all cases, in the shape of a trapezium, with the smaller base upward, and frequently sloping laterally toward the temples. The zygoma is quite pronounced.

Eyebrows not very thick, small, straight, or light and elegantly arched, separated by a bare space of about three centimeters (the base of the nose). Short and not very thick eyelashes. Small eyes, Mongoloid, with slanted eyelids. Black or very dark iris and whitish, or with some frequency yellowish, conjunctiva.

Short nose, low, ordinarily concave, forming a regular arch. Wide base (between the eyebrows); sometimes it narrows, deepens, and becomes thinner in the *nasion*, like a small triangle, soon to widen up to the point, which is usually very /72/ flat. Large nostrils, round, very visible, because frequently the point is turned up. In almost all cases it ends in a roundish protuberance.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "*that is the way it is,*" or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] [553] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the Imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4)), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

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*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

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126 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms, we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indigenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical."

/81 cont./

*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1)), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. [191] Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

• [115] [648] [567] According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay: "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã̄,

/81 cont./

*101 that is, "people of the land." Impressed later by the fact that they ate a great deal and frequently, they compared them with the tucanos /toucans/.

This is probably a later explanation invented by the native imagination. It is to be noted, however, that those of this tribe have always called themselves Daxseá, and never Yepá-maxsĩ. According to the old Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, Yepá-maxsĩ is the nickname of the Bará, although he does not know what that denomination means. In reality, Yebá-maxsĩ (in Tukano, Yepá-maxsĩ) is the name of a tribe of the Tukano group, as we shall see later (IV -- 2, t).

/82/ The designation "Tukano" clearly obeys the structure of the primitive's mentality, naming himself after an animal or plant. For now we do not want to go into the question of Totemism, which we hope to deal with more fully in another study. We are now permitted only to infer for them a habitat where the Tucano /toucan/ bird (ramphastus) might live, such as in the Amazonian plain of Colombia.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- More or less numerous groups of Tukano are found from Yu-Rapecuma (almost on the mouth of the Uaupés) up to Umarí (middle Uaupés), on the Tiquié from the mouth up to Carurú-cachoeira, and on the Papurí from Serrinha up to the headwaters. Small groups have also established themselves on the Rio Negro between S. Gabriel and Santa Isabel. The preceding charts (II -- 6, a, b) show the principal places where we find them today. The principal route of penetration into Brazil, it seems to us, was the river Papurí, from where they passed to the Uaupés and Tiquié (20).

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20. The old tuxáua José of Parí-cachoeira, about thirty years ago, showed Pe. João Marchesi an area of underbrush on the Tiquié, reporting that the first maloca of his ancestors was there when they came from the Pakurí. The indigenous denomination of the locality of S. Luzia of the Tiquié, buõrá-bathá, swim of the old ones (cf. Note 9, III), is confirmation of the Tukano tradition concerning their origin and migration.

/83 cont./

197 [797] /footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

*101 • 115 23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

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/Footnote 23 cont./ The Tukano Dorotéia Brito from Ananaz (Uaupés) informed us of the existence of another subdivision called *Yamĩ-nõ põrá*, in Tatá-punha, a little below Ananaz. Another observation: according to Gabriel Costa, the principal Tukano stem would be the one of the *Waú-ro põrá*. The legend and numerous informants are in agreement with regard to this information. Nevertheless Dorotéia Brito, who belongs to the Waú-ro group, assured us that they are not the "Tukano from the head" (according to the general way they express themselves on this matter), who are the *Oyê*. And not only these, but also, successively, the *Mimí*, the *Toarõ*, and the *Borõrá* are all "*Mamĩ*" (that is, "elder brothers") of the *Waú-ro põra*. It seems to us, however, that here there is a mistake by our excellent and useful collaborator.

The same informant added that the last Tukano branches, the "Tukano from the feet," are the *Kṍmã-rõ*, *Bu*, *Boxsó* *kasperí*, *Turo*, and *Dyi-pé*. She also said that the *Ihurwá*, *O'mẽ-peri*, and *Axpā̃*-*kerya* "were not Tukano in ancient times" (and, therefore, they could marry the Tukano), and the latter, out of compassion, called them *brothers*" /the initial quotation marks are missing/.

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Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 261) names the *Uíwa-tapuya* or Arrow people (*Pfeilrohr-Indianer*) as a *Tukano* *horde* located on the *Uaupés* between the cachoeiras of Micura and Umarí. It is true that the Ethnologists' concept of *Hordes* is vague and may correspond both to groups that the Indians consider different tribes and to groups taken as subdivisions of their tribe. None of the numerous Tukano with whom we conversed ever spoke about a tribe or division of his tribe by the name of

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*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:

1. -- Waú-ro põrá (25)

25. Põrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers
Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and
it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in
the lists that follow we shall omit the word children
in the translation.

● [115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese
and have studied for some years in the schools of the
Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions,
spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are
nicknames that the others impose on them." This is
undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to
*[192] give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not
in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown
[773] name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4)). According to the legends,
from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames,
[551] which passed to the whole group; for example, one
of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird,
and his descendants are known today as "Children of
the hummingbird, Mimí-põrá."

[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the subdivision
Kõma-ro-põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia
on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting
pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-põrá are the
Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ
(blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is
continued on the following page in the original source/
himself in the plant called Waú-mutõ, in order to
*[192] watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in
Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that
tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a
noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction,
and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all
cried out: waú nĩbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

/85 cont./

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*192

(that is, the "children of the Waú," a black monkey with a white face, called in Nheengatú wáya-pisá), in Piracuara (river Papurí) and Ananaz (lower Uaupés).

2. -- Oá kaxpéa pōrá (eye of the gambá /opossum/), in Piracuara (Papurí)
3. -- Oyê pōrá (stuttering?), in Pato (Papurí)
4. -- Īrapé pōra (a small black ant), in Ananaṇaz (Uaupés)
5. -- Pamō pōrá (tatu), in Nazaré or Uira-poço (river Tiquié)
6. -- Menú pōra (the bather? or Nēērú, nēēnú, small miriti), in Acuaricuara (river Paca)
7. -- Toarō pōrá (a toad), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
8. -- Mīmí pōrá (hummingbird), in Melo Franco (Papurí), Taracuá (Uaupés)
9. -- Bōrōrá pōrá (Fallen), in S. Miguel (Papurí)
10. -- Sararó pōrá (a large grasshopper), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
11. -- Ba'ti torō pōrá (sucker of japurá /fruit/), in Pari-cachoeira, Tucano and Bela Vista (Tiquié)
12. -- Nēērú (nēēnú) pōrá (a small miriti), in Iratí (Tiquié)
13. -- Dyí-pé pōrá (clay hole), in Uira-poço, S. José (Tiquié)
14. -- Dúka pōrá (abandoned?), in Uaracapá

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15. -- Yai-ro pōrá (a small inambú /tinamou/), in Beijú-cachoeira (Papurí)
16. -- Yōārā pōrá (bitter ones), at the mouth of the Tiquié
17. -- Bixpíse pōrá (tumor) or Bixpȳā pōrá (bluebird, bird), in Bela Vista (Tiquié)
18. -- Sakúro pōrá (saracura /plant (Bignonia), or waterfowl (Ralidae)/), in Montfort (Papurí)
19. -- Sa: pōrá (palm basket), in Nazaré (Papurí)
20. -- O'mēperi-Ro pōrá (long eared), in Uíra-poço (Tiquié); Tapurucuara (Uaupés); Yúa-pixuna (Papurí) (26)

[115]

26. The Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of Japú-igarapé, informed us that on the igarapé do Tamanduá, Būxko-yá, there formerly lived a Tukano group o'mēperi pōrá, now extinct.

/87 cont./

*101 b) BARÁ OR BASÃNA

1) People-Name-Language -- It is the name by which, without any modification, this tribe is known in the various languages; also the name of a fragrant bush, with whose branches the various tribes are accustomed to gird themselves when they dance.

Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be seen by the "Vocabulário da Amazônia." (Cf. the author's books: "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas /Indigenous Idioms/.")

*[192] We heard some Tukano say that the Bará are their Paxkõ-Ro (grandparents), but they could not tell us the reason for this apellation, nor did we find any allusion to it in their legends. It is certain that marriage between these two tribes is prohibited.

• [115] [797] Pe. Humberto Limpens (28) of the Congregação de Montfort informed us that he had heard from some old Bará that they called themselves Manao. We have not yet obtained confirmation of this, however. At present nothing is yet known about their relations with the ancient Manao tribe, which dominated a large part of the Rio Negro and is classified in the Arwáke group. Could it be that a small group of Manao were dominated or absorbed by the Tukano, whose idiom they assimilated?

[28] He was one of the great and well-deserving Monfortian Missionaries of the tribes in the Colombian region of the Uaupés. He became known by the name of "Pe. Clemente," who had been his predecessor in the Mission.

* /*88 cont.*/

101 2) *Habitat and inhabitants* -- It is a small tribe of perhaps two or three hundred members, still living in the regime of malocas at the headwaters of the river Tiquié and its tributaries, the Igarapés Inambú, Abio, Aracú-pirera, and others.

Koch Grünberg observes (*Zwei Iahre*, 211) that, in language and way of life, the *Bará* are closer to the tribes of the Japurá, but has more intimate relations with those of the Pirá-paraná.

● [115] 3) *Divisions* -- The informant was a young woman about 20 years old (1954), known as *Pasíka* (Francisca), of the subdivision *Wáya-põná*. Perhaps closer tribes with whom the matrimonial interdiction was in force will appear in the present list as subdivisions. It is indeed to be noted: 1st. -- In the forests of the Cananarí (tributary of the Pirá-paraná), as in those of this last, there lives a tribe known as *Kávyari*, whose language belongs to the Tukano group; 2nd. -- Would *Pamõ-põna* perhaps be the *Tatú* tribe (see IV -- 2, o)? *Their habitat* neighbors that of the *Bará*; 3rd. -- *Doxká poerá*, *poará* or *foará* is the name of the *Tuyuka* (cf. IV -- 2, d), and they reside near the *Bará*, at the headwaters of the Tiquié. We did not get to investigate whether the last three divisions are in fact *Tuyuka*, considered more closely related to the *Bará*; or whether it is only a matter of *nicknames* of some *Bará* groups.

1st. -- *Kawayari* (?), on the river Tiquié (Colombia)
2nd. -- *Pamõ põná* (tatu), on the igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- *Wáya põná* (an aquatic bird), on the Tiquié
4th. -- *Oxkó kapéa põná* (eye of water), on the Tiquié
5th. -- *Da-ryá* (a fruit), on the Komé-ya
6th. -- *Minõ doxká poará* (a fruit?), on the Tiquié
7th. -- *Páya doxká poará* (?), on the Tiquié
8th. -- *Dahyá doxká poará* (shrimp), on the Castanho River (trib. of the Tiquié)

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c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and [301] [304] [171] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

• [115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/90 cont./

*101 [173] According to a Tukano tradition collected by Pe. Antônio Giacone, the Tuyuka came down from the cachoeira Uaí-numbí (headwaters of the Macú-paraná); but, under pressure from the Tukano, they were forced to go up the headwaters of the Papurí, from where they went over to those of the Tiquié and settled there.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Henrique Resende, about 35 years old (1953), of the subdivision Dõxpãri, tuxaua of the maloca of the Yai-sa igarapé (Tiquié)

1st. -- Dyáta põna (a small fish), on the Igarapé Inambú
2nd. -- Dyatáñõ-nõ (suspended?), on the Igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Dyáta yuxkúro (long head), on the headwaters of the Tiquié
4th. -- Iñó-rõ (?), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
5th. -- Iñó-rõ oaká (stake), on the Black Igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Poã-nĩ manĩ (bald), on the Igarapé Marĩ-iá (Tiquié)
7th. -- Dõxpãri (branches), on the Igarapé Kuxtíro pextá (Tiquié)

/91/

8th. -- Yuxkũro (occipital protuberance), at the mouth of the Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)
9th. -- Wesé doxká poará -- (Tuyuka of the clearing), above Carurú (Tiquié)
10th. -- Poá pirá (?) on the upper Cabari (Tiquié). They are the pariahs.
11th. -- Axkó kaxpéa -- põna (eye of water), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
12th. -- Ébera-põna (water duck), on the mouth of the igarapé Boá-ia

[115] The young woman Amélia Resende, 18 years old (1955), added:

13th. -- Myõ dyi-Khãra (doxká-poará), in Cabarí and S. Pedro (Tiquié)
14th. -- Arã põná (child of the mountain range?), on the Igarapé of the breu /a resinous tree/ (the informant is from this group):

/91 cont./

*101 e) EDÚRYA OR ERÚLYA

1) People-Name-Language -- This tribe, in their own idiom, is called Edúrya, whereas the Tuyuka call them Erúlya. They are also affiliated by language to the Tukano group (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia").

[142] They are of average stature, a little taller than the Tukano. Light coppery skin, coarse, black, cymotrichous hair, a wide, square forehead, black eyes, delicate chin, high nose sometimes slightly acquiline, ovoid face, and thin lips.

They are connected by matrimonial ties with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Their habitat is several and small tributaries of the Pirá-paraná, in territory completely Colombian. It was not possible to find out the number of inhabitants of the tribe; it seems, however, that it is even smaller than the Hanêra tribe.

● [115] c) /sic/ Divisions -- They are the following, indicated by a young man about 20 years old (in March of 1954), Tunú by name, in Mosĩ-bhoá (maloca of the uru[illegible]m, headwaters of the Tiquié):

1. Kavyayána (master of dancing?), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)

31. Should it perhaps be identified with the Kavírya tribe of the forests of the Cananarí?

2. Ehéburu (a straw), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. Gãbũxkõró (Komũ, "blower," VII -- 2, e (3)), on the igarapé Semé-ria
4. Ixkó-masĩ (a snake), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. Wextáyoa (?), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masĩ of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masĩ, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several [171] hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guaríua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

• [115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirĩ, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masĩ tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/93 cont./

*101 • [115] 3) Divisions. -- In March of 1954 the Indian woman Duhigó, about 50 years old, gave the following divisions of her tribe:

1. Dasékãna (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya (headwaters of the Komé-ya)
2. Doé (Taraira), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
3. Dyasumá or Ryasumá (?), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
4. Fẽmona (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
5. Komíya (?), on the Soarí-ma-pitó (mouth of the red igarapé)
6. Wámona (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
7. Nikoméyana (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
8. Senẽ (?), on the headwaters of the Komé-ya.

h) ÍDE-MASÃ, AÕ-NIRA OR MAKUNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- They call themselves this in their own idiom, which also belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), *[192] and it means water people." It is a custom of all the tribes of the Uapesina region, after each sentence that they hear, to utter a sound expressing that they are understanding and following the conversation, or also that they are in agreement with the one who is speaking. This sound, for the tribes of the Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié, is ĩĩ or ũũ (cf. Gramatica da lingua Daxseyé /Grammar of the Daxseyé language/ by the author). The Íde-masã, however, repeat "aõ" each time. Because of this custom, the natives of the Tiquié call them "Aõ-nĩra" or "Aõ-nĩna," that is, "the ones who say aõ." This is the explanation that the Íde-masã tuxáua of the first maloca of the Komé-ya gave us. In their own idiom, this nickname would be translated: "I am of the Aõ-nĩra, yõõ aõ-žigõ (masc.), aõ-žigo (fem), aõ-žira (plural). This same tuxáua said that the Colombians call them Makúna. They do not, however, know the /94/ meaning or the origin of the word Makuna, which was recorded by Koch Grũnberg.

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masĩ are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, [301] [304] Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Mirití-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/96 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- In Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/ we read that their center is the region embraced between the Uaupés and the Japurá, from where they moved to the Uaupés and were settled by Frei Gregório in S. Jerônimo, Naná-Rapecuma, and S. Joaquim.

/97/ Pe. João Marchesi, arriving among them in 1925, learned from the old Arapásu that they were the masters of the Uaupés from S. José to the mouth. Because they were more sociable and pleasant than the other natives, many women became wives of the civilized, and many men of the tribe were taken for labor. Many, on the other hand, established themselves on the lower Rio Negro, and others perished. Many caboclos of that region come from the crossing with Arapásu. The tribe thus became greatly reduced. There was a large group in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) that emigrated to the lower Rio Negro. Upon returning, it found the Taryana established there, and they did not want to relinquish the place, alleging that they were many and the Arapásu were less numerous. [161]

Today a little over a hundred of them live on the right bank of the Uaupés, between S. José and Paraná-jucá.

3) Subdivisions (33)

• [115] 33. This division was furnished to us by Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. It is to be noted that it is not similar to the names of the divisions of the other tribes. Perhaps, indeed, because they do not know them any longer. All the Arapásu whom we could consult maintained this. And one of them came to ask us whether we knew how the ancient divisions of his tribe were named. The names below are only indications of the places where they presently live. It is possible that each povoado today represents one of the ancient divisions.

/*98 cont.*/

*101 9. *Wíroyro* (the thunder bird), on the igarapé timbó (river Uaupés)

/*99*/

10. *Bukúyro* (a tree), in Tipiaca (river Uaupés)
11. *Naī yaxpárya* (seed of mirití), in Tucano-cachoeira (Uaupés)
12. *Yopáyriro* (maize), extinct branch
13. *Naī ryākiro* (miriti), in Jacaré (Uaupés)
14. *Nixti dixsōryakiro* (painted with ashes on the legs during dances), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)

• [115] The informant, Ernesto Domingues, about 22 years of age (in 1955), in Jacaré (Uaupés) furnished 12 subdivisions, 9 of which coincide with those obtained in Carurú. The other three are:

16. /*Sic*; this item and the next one are virtually identical in the original source./ *Witō monō* (white acangatara /feather head-ornament/), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)
16. *Witō monō* (white acangatara), in Uaracapuri (Aaupés /*sic*/)
17. *ʔáhori poná* (mud of the bank of the river), in Taiassú (Uaupés)

[115] Another informant, Gabriel Paiva, about 18 years of age, further added:

18. *Wánixtiro* (acará), in Matapí (Uaupés)
19. *Yaxpíma* (batata), in Jutica (Uaupés).

1) MŌXTĀ OR KARAPANĀ

1) *People-Name-Language.* They belong to the Tukano family with regard to the idiom, in which they call themselves *Mōxtī*, and in the Tukano language, *Mōxtēa*, a term corresponding to *Karapanī* of the língua geral, that is, the name of a mosquito that bites at night (genera *stegoniya*, *culex*, and others).

/99 cont./

*101 Slighter than the Tukano, they also have less Mongoloid features, light skin and eyes, and an oval face.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Their present habitat is the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the headwaters of the Papurí, or rather of its source, the Áua, and the Tĩ igarapé. Frei Gregório de Bene settled some Karapanã groups in Naná-Rapecũma and S. Joaquim on the lower Uaupés, and in S. Luzia on the Papurí.

Jesuino Cordeiro, in a dispatch dated 1 July of 1853, informed the Presidente of the Province about an attack by the Karapanã on the povoado of S. Cruz of the Kubẽwana, near the cachoeira do Mutum (today Mitú, capital of the Território Nacional del Waupés, Colombia). Pursued by the Colombian Polícia, in 1928 a group of them established itself in Brazilian territory on the headwaters of the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié). These episodes confirm their fame as warlike and violent.

[115] /100/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Antônio Gentil, 40 years old (1953), from Umari igarapé, in Paricachoeira.

1st. -- Dũrya mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya (igarapé of the nose?). They are the Mamí.
2nd. -- Poxtã-hará (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá
3rd. -- Mũmyá pakãna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá

[115] The informant Vicente, Karapanã (about 30 years old) from the headwaters of the Áua, now settled in Uaracapá (river Papurí), gave new names and modified the order, also with a small difference in pronunciation.

1st. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá
2nd. -- Dõryá pakãna (?) of the Pirá-paraná, today in Po-yá
3rd. -- Dõryá mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Poa-yá mõxtẽ already extinct (35 a)

35a. Poá-yá-mõxtẽ properly means "Karapanã of the igarapé Poá."

/100 cont./

*101 5th. -- Poxtĩ yára (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá

6th. -- Mũmyá pakĩna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya

7th. -- Kenenõ (jataí /a kind of bee; locust tree/), on the river Pirá-paraná

8th. -- Botẽa matsá (aracú /fish/), on the river Cananarí

9th. -- Datõ-hyĩ (?), on the river Uaupés (the informant said: "nowadays they are Kubewana," that is, have been assimilated by them (35 b).

35b. Would it perhaps be the Kubẽwãna subdivision called Tatĩwa (javarí /a palm/)?

10th. -- Pixkõ-sẽ (gavião tesoura /bird, Falconidae/), on the river Cananarí

● [115] A young Karapanĩ about 23 years old, Luiz, of the maloca of Hõboõ-mákarya (headwaters of the Tiquié), said that presently (1955) only the seven following groups existed, and in decreasing order of importance:

1st. -- Mũmyá (bees). They are "the ones from the head," that is, the principal ones.

2nd. -- Dũrya (cutia /agouti/) (the informant was from this group)

3rd. -- Dũrya mõtĩra

4th. -- Mõxtẽ pakãna

5th. -- Mõtára

/101/

6th. -- Poxtĩ yára

7th. -- Poxtĩ yára mõtára

We do not know whether he made a mistake in saying Mõxtẽ pakĩna instead of Mũmya Pakãna in the fourth place.

/101 cont./

*101 [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The only survivors of the tribe in Brazil, about a hundred persons, live on the lower Tiquié in Urubu-lago and Iraiti. They informed us that, because of dissension, one group, perhaps around the end of the last century, fled to the river Japurá (Colombian territory), and that they probably still know the original mother tongue.

• [115] 3) Divisions -- Furnished by Luciano, of the Umũhori group, about 50 years old, and Maria Cabral, of the Umú-põ group, about 22 years old, both from Iraití.

1. Ixsé-pi poná (?), in Iraití and Urubu-lago (river Tiquié)

/102/

2. Pẽru bayá poná (master of the caxirí /see p. 595/ dance), Urubu-lago (came from the Japír)
3. Mahá bayá poná (master of dance with arara feather), in Iraití
4. Umũhori poná (?), on the stream Umú-ya, tributary of the Uaupés
5. Sõ-poá (?), extinct
6. Umú-põ (?), in Iraití and river Japurá
7. A-ú (?), extinct
8. Horí-di (?), in Iraití.

n) OÁ-MAHÃ OR MIKURA-TAPUYA

[115] 1) People-Name-Language -- Their idiom belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as is verified by the Vocabulary that we obtained from an Indian woman named Kaxpé, about 45 or 50 years old, a native of the stream Inambú, tributary of the Papurí, and married to a Tuyuka from the Tiquié, where she resides in the last maloca on Brazilian territory, near the Colombian border. The Nheengatú name Mikura-tapuya, or gambá /opossum/ people, is the translation of the name Oá-mahã in the native idiom.

*101 [161] /103 cont./

From the information that we obtained, the number of inhabitants of this tribe must fluctuate around 300.

• [115] 3) Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian woman Kamõõ, about 45 years old (1954), from the headwaters of the river Áua:

1. Tsuninó (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
2. Pirõ (snake), on the Pirá-paraná
3. Petári sunino̅ (?), Pirá-paraná
4. Oá-maxsĩ (gambá /opossum/ people), on the river Pirá-paraná (38)

38. Would Oá-mahĩ or Mikura-tapuya be the same tribe?

*[192] p) PAMĨWA OR KUBEWÃNA -- Koch Grũnberg (Z. I. 87) is of the opinion that the name Kobéua is only a nickname given by their ancient enemies, the Arwake, from the frequent use of the word kõbĩuṍ, nothing, no. In the Tukano idiom they are called Poterí-khĩra, which means "people or inhabitants of the headwaters of the rivers" (cf. their name in different native languages; cf. IV -- 3). They, however, call themselves Pamĩwa (sing., masc. pamĩkṍ, fem. pamĩko). Curt Nimuendajú and Koch record Hehénawa as the name of the tribe. The Hehénawa constitute only a principal group of the Kubewana, whom Koch found in the maloca of Namakoliba (Z. I. 276) (*).

* Koch says that on the sources of the Querari there is a small Kubewana group called Abóxõhãhãnaua, that is, Kubewana-Jurupari, a name that the Wanana translate Waxtíkuxtipinoa; and the ones from Uaracapuri (Uaupés) are Olobahãhãnaua, called Diádãitoa by the Wanana.

*101 /104 cont./

3) Divisions -- We obtained four lists of the subdivisions of the Kubêwana tribe:

● [115] 1st. -- The first one contains 9 (nine) names and was furnished to us in November of 1953 by the Kubêwana woman Heloisa, about 45 years old, married and residing in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés). The Wanana man, Maximiano de Sá, from this same povoado, who served us as interpreter, gave us the meaning of each name as follows:

1st. -- Órobakõ (pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./), on Pindaíba-igarapé (near Mitú, river Uaupés)
2nd. -- Áwekõ (beijú /manioc bread/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí (tributary of the Querarí)
3rd. -- Wárarikõ (variety of pepper), in Tatú-cachoeira (river Uaupés)
4th. -- Hehénakõ (sour), on the river Cuduiarí
5th. -- Bahúkekõ (appeared), on the river Cuduiarí
6th. -- Neábokõ (mirití), on the river Cuduiarí
7th. -- Bareákõ (manivara /manioc-stem cutting/), on Pindaíba-igarapé
8th. -- Húrukõ (?), on the lagoon of cold water (headwaters of the Cuduiarí)
9th. -- Pyarákõ (tocandira /a kind of ant/), above Mitú (river Uaupés).

[115] /105/ 2nd. -- Later, in April of 1955, another Kubêwana woman, Josefa, also about 45 years old, wife of the tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira, the Wanana Mandú, reviewed the list furnished by Heloisa, confirmed it, and added nine other subdivisions. She, however, denied the existence of the eighth division above, Húrukõ, and located the Pyarákõ or Myaráko on the igarapé Macaquinha. And as for the meaning of the names, it was furnished to us in Wanana (or Tukano) by her husband, so we shall put the subdivisions in the same order in which they were given:

10th. -- Utsí-awekõ (moã-parya), on the river Cuduiarí
11th. -- Bõoibokõ (tõnẽ-noãkiro), on the river Cuduiarí
12th. -- Korokõ (coró-coró /bird/ mira, that is, red), on the river Cuduiarí

/105 cont./

*101 13th. -- Pedíkãakõ (soxkõá, grater), on the river Cuduiarí
14th. -- Byókõ (the bird yavíroa), on the river Cuduiarí
15th. -- Korẽteraboekõ (the plant bõsaritena), on the river Içana (Josefa is from this group)
16th. -- Dyurébakõ (pino maxkã põná), on the river Içana
17th. -- Tóreakõ (guariba /howler monkey/), on the river Içana
18th. -- Dyokákebekõ (without leaf), on the river Içana

[115] 3rd. -- A group of Wanãna from Tipiaca (Colombian middle Uaupés), reciprocally helping one another, in May of 1954, gave us the 16 subdivisions of the Kubẽwana tribe that we give below. From the translation that they did for us, it seems to us that one can identify the subdivisions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... 7, 8... 11... 13... 15, respectively, with the numbers 1, 18, 14, 16, 9, 13, 12, 10, 15, and 3 of the lists furnished by Heloisa and Josefa. The difference would result solely from the fact that the list from Tipiaca is found in the Wanana language, whereas Heloisa and Josefa gave the names in their idiom, which is the Kubẽwãna.

1st. (1) -- Hópũrya (sororoca), on the Abio-igarapé
2nd. (18) -- Phurĩ marĩná (without leaf), on the river Querarí
3rd. (14) -- Yavíroa (a giver of color), on the Uaupés River, above the mouth of the Abio-igarapé
4th. (16) -- Maxkã pĩró põná (place of the snake), headwaters of the Querarí
5th. (9) -- Pixtá (tocandira), above Mitú-cachoeira (Uaupés)
6th. -- Suxpúara (water bubbles), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

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7th. (13) -- Soxkõa (grater), on the river Cuduiarí
8th. (12) -- Koxtoá (red coró-coró), on the mouth of the Cuduiarí
9th. -- Desõporea (bearded), below Mitú (river Uaupés)
10th. -- Yurya (crippled), on the Karapanã-igarapé
11th. (10) -- Moã-paryá (salt), on the Mirití-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés)
12th. -- Boté dyeryá (eggs of aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

/106 cont./

*101 13th. (15) -- Wamãtarwa (an herb), on the headwaters of the Querarí

14th. (7) -- Yebákaroa (manivara), on the river Querarí

15th. (3) -- Byẽdero (variety of pepper), in S. Cruz and Tatú-cachoeira (Uaupés)

16th. -- Wai wehẽkõ (puçá /hammock, net/), on Pacú-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés).

• [115] 4th. -- In April of 1957 we met in Arapaçu-poço, a locality on the river Içana, near the mouth of the Aiarí, two women who came from the Querarí, Nazária, about 40 years old and Byatrina, 25 to 28 years old, married to Arwáke men of the Yauareté-tapúya tribe. They introduced themselves as being from the Korẽterabõa tribe, a name that they translated for us as Búya-tapúya (snake people). It is to be noted that on the second list above Josefa gave as a subdivision of the Kubẽwana the Korẽteraboekõ, a name that indicates the plant bõsaritena. In collecting the "test" Vocabulary from these Korẽterabõa women, we verified that it was almost identical to the one furnished by Heloisa in 1955. Byatrina indicated the following divisions; serving us as interpreter, the Indian Ernesto, from the Juruparí-tapuya tribe, from S. Ana (river Içana):

1st. -- Hehẽnawa (old), in Tuí (river Cuduiarí)

2nd. -- Padĩkawõ (grater), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)

3rd. -- Byawá (Pepper), in Pirá-mutum (river Querarí)

4th. -- Myarĩwa (white), in Sẽi-ma (river Uaupés)

5th. -- Bahúkõwa (appeared), in Uaracú-cachoeira (river Cuduiarí)

6th. -- Wararíwa (?), in Macucú (river Uaupés)

7th. -- Korówa (coró-coró), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)

8th. -- Pyaráwa (tocandira), in Pirá-mirim (river Cuduiarí)

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9th. -- Horóbora paramẽra (clay), in Cupim-igarapé (river Papurí)

10th. -- Tĩdwa (a fish), in Tĩ-igarapé (river Uaupés)

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASĨ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masĩ, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsĩ or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamĩ, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old
[142] and residing in the Ídemasĩ maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous
[301]
[304] hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masĩ.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gõ-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebã, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

> 40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171]
[835]
[829]
[797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

• [115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/110 cont./

*101

4. Wya-toá (an ant), in Uíva-igarapé
5. Eóna (jaburú /bird/), in Tapira-cachoeira
6. Bayaró suryá mamasurá (Suryana singer), on the headwaters of the Vinha-igarapé
7. Bará-ka (?), on the headwaters of the river Paca.

s) TSẼNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Tsẽna belong to the Tukano family of languages, as can be deduced from the "test" vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethnolinguistic-musical Record Collection/). It was not possible for us to obtain data for an approximate calculation of the Tsẽna. Like the neighboring tribes who reside between the Tiquié and the Pirá-paraná, the Tsẽna are lighter in complexion than the Tukano and have less Mongoloid features. Moreover, they exhibit dark brown, cymotrichous hair.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They are presently located in malocas on the middle Pirá-paraná and on some of its small tributaries, such as the Timí-ya (igarapé of the otter), Ahĩ-ya (igarapé of the inambú /tinamou/), Iaxpi-ya (igarapé of the batata), and Utú-ya (Igarapé of the plain).

[115]

3) Divisions: -- The Tsẽna Indian Marco, about 25 years of age (1958), who furnished and recorded the vocabulary for us, indicated the following divisions of his tribe in decreasing order of importance:

1. Oãni-séna (micura or gambá /opossum/), in Tsẽna-pwea (cachoeira of the Pirá-paraná)
2. Tsẽna-põ (?), on the stream Timí-ya
3. Pinõ-sẽna (snake), on the stream Ahĩ-ya
4. Kũmya (?), on the stream Iaxpí-ya
5. Waya-sẽna (a fish), in Tsẽna-pwea. The informant belongs to this group.
6. Pamõ (tatú /armadillo/), in Utú-ya (Pirá-paraná).

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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

> • [115] 41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano
> [773] this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and
[142] Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[244] With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are
[222] principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason
[224] the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI -
[284] 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

/111 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

● [115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõã appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wĩhuri or Wĩpuri (?), on the Komé-ya

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3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõã-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sẽi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

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[136] 42. Sẽi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

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*101 u) WAHYÁRA OR YURITÍ-TAPUÚA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Indians known as Yurití-tapuya are called in their own idiom Wahyara or Uhayána and belong to the Tukano linguistic family, but their language exhibits Karaíba vestiges, so Chestmir affirms (cf. Vocabulary in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Jurití is the translation of the name of the dove wahyara. They have a longer face and lighter complexion than the Tukano, as well as being taller and slimmer than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Chestmir tells of their existence on the river Caiari. As far as has been reported to us, it is in the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the Papurí that some groups of the Jurití live, as well as in [161] Acuaricuara (river Paca) and its surroundings. It seems to us that they are more numerous than the Suryana.

In "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" it is said that they were settled in 1852 by Frei Gregório on the river Uaupés, in Aracapurí, Carurú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo and S. Joaquim, and a century before by the Carmelites in Thomar. And that they are very closely related to the Huhúteni and are called Halikuliarú by the Siwsí. We think that there is a serious mistake here. The Huhúdeni are of the Arwake group, and the Jurití, whom we are talking about, belong, by language, to the Tukano group. It is true that the physiognomic features of the Jurití are less Mongoloid and more delicate than those of the Tukano.

• [115] 3) Divisions. -- Informant Emília Cordeiro, about 40 years old, in Acuaricuara in November of 1953.

1. Dexpoá Waxtí panamẽna (head of Waxtí), on the headwaters of the Paca
2. Tsyára Wahyára (swallow), at the mouth of the Turí-igarapé, in Neníya
3. Dyáta poná (water duck), on the headwaters of the Cussá

/113 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They do not appear on the lists of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to point out that the Pira-tapuya are indicated on Frei Gregório's maps in Carurú-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, that is, in povoados of other tribes and not where we found and recorded them (III). Their principal nucleus is the Papurí, from where they later moved to the Uaupés. It is probable that they arrived in Brazil before the Tukano.

[161] They fluctuate around six hundred (588 in the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/," distributed in this way: on the Uaupés, in Jacaré-ponta and surroundings of Ananás and Taracuá, in Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, in Uaracú-ponta, which is their largest center nowadays, and on the outskirts of Umarí. On the Papurí: in S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. They are, moreover, numerous in the Colombian frontier territory.

● [115] /114/ 3) Divisions. -- Indicated by a group of Pirá-tapuya from Teresita (river Papuri).

1. Wehétera or Vetára poné (powder), in Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japú (river Papuri), and Uaracú (river Uaupés)
2. Swā́rya poné (red ones), in Macú-paraná and África (Papurí)
3. Sasíro poné (sasíro, a large grasshopper), in Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. Kenē poné (a cockroach), on the river Paca
5. Pâta poné (a toad that swells), in Japim (Papurí)
6. Busâna poné (paineira /tree/), on the igarapés of the river Japurá
7. Buxpó poné (thunder), in S. Tomé (Bela Vista) on the lower Uaupés
8. Duxkodō poné (thin), in Bela Vista
9. Ñamá-emēperoa poné (deer ear), in Ituim-ponta (Papurí)
10. Ñapá poné (a toad), in Ararí-pirá (Uaupés)
11. Komé-pá poné (stone of the ax), in S. Francisco

/114 cont./

(Uaupés) (44)

*101

• [115]

44. According to the Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the Japú-igarapé (river Uaupés), the Komé-pá, also called Gi-Tapuya, are the "Pirá-tapuya of the feet" or "of the tail" (he expressed himself in this way) and formerly lived above the Japú-Igarapé, as can be seen drawn on the map of Hamilton Rice (cf. II-6, b).

12. Nohá-peoroa (burned), in Bacaba (Uaupés) and Japim (Papurí)
13. Poéroa (low water), in Teresita (Papurí)
14. Ñamákuli poné (spotted deer), in Macú-igarapé
15. Yapẽ poné (a frog), in Cangatara (Uaupés)
16. Kẽhólya (dreamer ?), in Ponta-fria (Uaupés)
17. Bwá poné (cotia /agouti/), in S. Paulo, S. Gabriel, Tucunaré (Papurí), Taracuá, Bela Vista, Açaí-paraná (Uaupés)
18. Paraoro poné (a cipo with fragrant flowers), on the streams Macú and Ituim
19. Nixtĩ-pá poné (ashes), in Teresita (Papurí) (45)

45. "Because they brought the fire in the dances," thus they explained to us the reason for the name. It must be an old custom, which is no longer in force today. It is to be noted that in Teresita they were introduced to us as the Pariahs of the Pirá-tapuya; whereas on the Tiquié they characterized as slaves the Bwá poné, Paráoro, and Oxkótirya.

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*101 [438] and receiving in exchange manioc flour, sieves, aturás /large baskets carried on the back/ or baskets, balls of tucum, and canoes" (*Os Tucanos* /The Tucano/, 7).

[115] 3) *Divisions* -- Informants: Amélia Veiga (30 years old in 1956, from the subdivision *Yugõ-põná*) and Ana Cabral (22 years old, *Depótino*), both from Floresta (river Tiquié); Justina Pires (from Embaúba, river Uaupés), and Judite Monteiro (from Matapí, Tiquié):

1st. -- *Boré-ka-põná ánikma* (aracú /a fish/) (49),

> 49. *Bore-ka-põná* means "son of the aracú." "*Ánikma*" is a demonstrative that they employ frequently and means *these*, *they*. We transcribed it in order to remain faithful to the designation and pronunciation of our informants.

on the river Papurí; they are the "Mamí"

2nd. -- *Bũgyêri põná* (old), in Tucunaré (Papurí)

3rd. -- *Sumyêri põna* (a sour fruit), on the Macú-igarapé (Papurí)

4th. -- *Poyêri põná* (a fruit similar to the abio /Sapotaceae/), on the river Uaupés

5th. -- *Depótino põná* (an ant), in Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)

6th. -- *Yugõ põná* (hiccup), in Trovão (Uaupés) and Floresta (Tiquié)

7th. -- *Sipeáninã ánikma* (a bird), in Umarí-igarapé (Tiquié)

8th. -- *Anañeri põna* or *aganĩgãnĩ põná* (foot of inambú /bird/), on the river Papurí

9th. -- *Yexsé põná* (wild pig), on the river Castanho (trib. of the Tiquié)

10th. -- *Toá pianã* (iúa pixuna, fruit), in Iraití (Tiquié)

11th. -- *Waxsúpo põná* (cunurí /tree/), in Turí-igarapé (Papurí)

12th. -- *Yú põná* (an insect ?), in Floresta (Tiquié)

13th. -- *Yeborẽna ánikma* (bone?), in S. João (Tiquié)

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*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956), [115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifications: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo [554] pōná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganígāní pōna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtēna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMĀDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumādene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-pōrá (children of the water duck). The Taryāna call them Kumāda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryāna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumāda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryāna. [142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native [115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamā /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

/*118 cont.*/

*101 2) *Habitat and inhabitants*. -- This tribe participated in the first migrations that took place on the Cuiarí and Içana, having as center on this river the locality of S. Pedro. The scarcity of fish in the Içana, in relation to the population, especially in some years, led some groups to migrate to the Uaupés in the middle of the last century. In larger number they passed through the forests of the Aiari, and others by way of the lower Içana. Among these last ones, the *Ipeka* group, which is found today in Urubucuara and surroundings and does not maintain any relations with the Ipeka of the Içana. [161] It seems that at present the whole tribe does not exceed three or four hundred souls.

• [115] 3) *Divisions* -- Informant Mandú Henriques of the *Komā̃da-pú* group, tuxaua of Urubucuara. It is to be noted that the various *Kumā̃dē̃ne* of the river Cuiarí whom we could consult, although they speak the native idiom, did not know how to indicate the divisions of the tribe.

1st. -- *Kumā̃da-da* (?), in Pinú-pinú, already extinct
2nd. -- *Kumā̃da-pú* (?), in Urubucuara
3rd. -- *Kapási Máwesi* (hook?), headwaters of the Yaviarí
4th. -- *Hapáka* (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)
5th. -- *Wamerída* (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira
6th. -- *Murisépa* (?), in Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)
7th. -- *Wirí-karúpa* (uiripipí, bird), in Periquito (Uaupés)
8th. -- *Kumā̃dáwē̃i* (row /Port. *fileira*, row, line, rank/), on the river Aiari.

z) /*sic*/ *TALYSERI OR TARYĀ̃NA*

1) *People-Name-Language*. They are the principal representatives, on the river Uaupés, of the *Arwáke* ethnic and linguistic group. In the Tukano language, they are called *Pā̃na* (name of a plant?), and in their own /*119*/ idiom *Talyáseri* or *Talyéseri*, and in various Arwáke idioms of the Issana, *Tarídza* or *Taría*. We think the word *Taryana* is derived from *Talyaseri* by rotacismo /sound shifting/ (exchange

/120 cont./

*101 1st. -- Põkurãna (born from the clouds), in the povoado Manao (Iauareté). They are the most important.

2nd. -- Nérikwa Kwénaka (face of deer), in Japurá (river Papurí) (52)

*[115] 52. Old Paulino, who supplied us with these subdivisions, is from this group, almost extinct today.

3rd. -- Sivíru thumú (?), in Japurá

4th. -- Kwísi úda (tail of mutum /Crax/), in Iauareté (Uaupés)

5th. -- Kwí-váte (?), in Iauareté

6th. -- Kwénaka (?), in Iauareté and Ipanoré (almost extinct) (Uaupés)

7th. -- Kwí Káparo (aimoré monkey), in Ipanoré

8th. -- Samí-da (?), in Aracú-ponta (Uaupés)

9th. -- Makú-ya (urutauí, bacurau /Caprimulgidae/), in Micura (Uaupés)

10th. -- Komãda Yaperíkuli (duck of Yaperíkuli), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (They are the Kumãdẽne proper, also of the Arwáke group.)

/121/

11th. -- Makaryá-põ (?), in Uaracapá (river Papurí)

12th. -- Hiparíku sásari (ríku is a small woodpecker), in Iauareté (Mission)

13th. -- Seréawi (a parakeet with a long tail), in Bacaba (Uaupés)

14th. -- Kayároa (? dreamers), Iauareté (povoado Dom Bosco)

15th. -- Wáparo põná (a fish), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (53).

• [115] 53. This name is in the Tukano language. A young woman 17 years of age, Antonia Corrêa, presented herself in 1954 as being Wáparo põná, not knowing how to tell the meaning of Wáparo. According to others, it is a fish similar to the aracú, although more roundish.

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● 115 In May of 1956 the Taryĩna pajé of the Ira-igarapé, Henrique by name, a man of about 50 years of age, told us the legend of the origins of the Arwáke groups, in the cachoeira de Uapuim, and gave us the list of the Taryĩna chiefs in the order of their exit from the pit of the cachoeira, which likewise corresponds to the importance of the group from which he originated. It is to be noted that it differs from the preceding one, not only concerning the number of the subdivisions and their rank, but also concerning the names and their meaning. It agrees with the preceding one only in half a dozen names. He, however, appeared to be more knowledgeable about the ancient legends, and for this reason his word deserves more credit and, besides, is greatly respected, not only by the men themselves, but also by other pajés of the Taryĩna tribe.

*101 Starting with the most important ones, the subdivisions are thus listed in decreasing order:

1st Group, the most noble ones

1st. -- Kaméwa (?), the heads; they are already extinct
2nd. -- Iriyumákẽni or Ena-yamákere (people of the blood, that is, born from the thunder), from this group Agostinho of the povoado Manao (Iauareté)
3rd. -- Pokurĩna (that is, older brother) Kasútari, already extinct; formerly in the povoado Manao
4th. -- Pokurĩna náseri (?), also extinct, in Iauareté
5th. -- Pokurĩna purĩtĩ (leaf), from this group Filipe of Iauareté

/122/

6th. -- Pokurĩna Kwénaka (cunurí /tree/): Joaquim of Iauareté is from this group
7th. -- Pokurĩna Neríkoa (forehead of deer), extinct, in Iauareté
8th. -- Dúpu-kári (water lizard), Paulino of Iravassú-ponta
9th. -- Kwénaka Pitasítsawi (leg of cutia /agouti/), Iravassú-ponta
10th. -- Kwénaka Sivíru (dove), Mandú Moleque of Iauareté

/156 cont./

152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1)).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

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889 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115] 27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

/166 cont./

521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

[184] 44. Among the Ide-maxsĩ of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

171 /167 cont./
521 as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the impo-
574 sition of the name (45).

45. A similar event took place in August of 1956
521 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary
574 of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast
we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of any-
• [115] one who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen,
of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of
his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the
two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned
toward the west (probably in order not to have the
sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at
each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other
in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a
happy trip, through the recollections of the legends
of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must
have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two
of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a
cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone,
while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at
the disposal of his "brother," and both served them-
selves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

/216 cont./

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More rarely they cook it with tender leaves of mandioca; such a dish is called *maniçoba* (from the Nheengatú *manib*, mandioca, and *çob*, leaf), and in Tukano *dõxkõ* pũ (Uaupés *dõxkõ* pũnĩ; from *dõxkõ*, maniva /manioc cutting for planting/, and pũnĩ, leaves).

The peppery water (with or without salt) in which the fish or the *piracuĩ* was boiled is what is called *byá-tõ* (literally pepper pot) and in the Lingua Geral *quinhapira* (from *quinha*, pepper, and *pirá*, /217/ fish); and in which the pieces of beijú are moistened before being taken to the mouth.

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4) *The fish*. There are many species of fish (46)

> 46. It is estimated that there are about 3,700 species of Brazilian fish, approximately 1,700 of these species being fresh-water fish. (J. H. Leoni -- *Peixes Brasileiros* /Brazilian Fish/ -- Edit. Anchieta, 1946.)

existing in the rivers of this zone northwest of the Amazon, and the natives use almost all of them (47).

• [115]

> 47. A Tukano Indian, João by name, an old fisherman from S. Francisco (river Tiquié) assured us in 1955: "We eat all the fish, except the *pirá-boto*." *Boto* or *pirá-boto* /dolphin/, also called *pirá-yauara* (that is, dog fish, and in Tukano *oxkó puxtistéro*, blower of water?), is a cetacean mammal, four species of which are given for the Amazon region: the white one, known as *uiára* (*Inia Geoffroyensis*, Blaw.); the black one or *pixúna* (*Inia Amazonica*); the red one or *piranga* (*Delphines fluviátilis*, Gervais), and the gray one or *tucuxĩ* (*Stena tucuxi*). The *Boto*, moreover, is a fish that appears in the legends, as well as the *pirarara* (in Tukano *mahĩ-wĩ*, which means precisely

/229 cont./

*192 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ
276 and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

● [115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

[415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Iahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

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[797]

/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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[115]

Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

/254 cont./

203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

202 [192] 178 /255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

*[192] It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

[115] [184]

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

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*192 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c)) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 192 The echo, Axká-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a)), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkó-mãrĩra-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõã. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, • [115] upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

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805 A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of
[115] contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a
list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese.
As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the
names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre
Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names
as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds
*192 (sic). It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the
805 constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the
821 months by the constellations.

These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mɨ̃ bahwarí muhɨ̃-pʉ̃ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyɨ̃ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wɨ̃rɨ̃ (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwɨ̃téro (morning star)
November -- Afia (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mãhõátise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõáse -- more light
muhɨ̃-pʉ̃ mãhõá-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

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> /footnote 12 cont./ this opinion about the sicknesses will be no hygiene or preventive measures at all, hence the spread, for example, of malaria, grippe, tuberculosis, etc., as is reported for various occasions and places.

That is, the sicknesses are caused by the malevolent spirit of the men who, by envying (one of the weak points of the forest-dweller's psyche) their fellow men, endeavor to do them some harm. For that, they can use the most varied objects turned malefic by magic: a lock of hair, a piece of cloth, wood, stone, metal, bone, thorn, very commonly a cigar butt (13),

> 13. Every time that, upon digging in a spot, a cigar butt is found, the Indian immediately thinks that it is a matter of a malefice.

and even the mere thought. The malefic objects will act when placed on the individual's path, inside his house, buried in his yard, or thrown on his landing place or his canoe.

*[192] [115] They believe that (information from the tuxaua Júlio from Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié) mysterious beings, whom they call Waí maxsã (fish people) might have spread germs of sickness under the stones of the rivers; thus they talk about seré-pá (stone of purú-puru /skin disease/), yohá-pá (stone of dysentery). For this reason, they oppose breaking these stones, because such sicknesses would spread and decimate the population. They assert concerning some stones of Pari-cachoeira that even the fish die when they lie against them (14).

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> 14. One of the Missionary Brothers gave a likely explanation for the fact: the existence there of numerous piranhas, which attack the other fish.

/275 cont./

756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

> 25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papurí).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

[115]

> 26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

*[192] The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and
[778] instruments, called Wĩhĩõ (27),

> 27. Wĩhĩõ is probably derived from Wĩhĩ, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Wĩhĩõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

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756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that
he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
• [115] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé,
and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife
[797] (37).

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37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/283 cont./

756 821 [797] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 • [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) *Home remedies.*

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or
means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the
pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems
*[192] to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish
surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit *cubiú*, any-
one who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish *piraiba*, his
vision will suffer, etc.

*192 278 752 •[115] The best-known home remedies are (44):

44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) *For wounds: Recent ones.* They boil the bark of the cipo *dyí-dá* (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as *Kamĩ bũxkõ-Ro-kó* (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called *Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí* (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) *Against snake bite.* 1st. Of *jararaca*: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely *Aña-kó*, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the *sororoca* root against the poison of the jararaca.

/306 cont./

534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2)) the belief that the mĩrĩ́a are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahĩ (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradriídea).

● [115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tšĩ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú: and they explained why, that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the juruparí);
534 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoá (kingfisher);
4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩrĩã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanĩna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩriá loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3)).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 [115] The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer of the native music (58), provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

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58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90)
792 "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them
[567] as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a
weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sẽwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to
• [115] heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

/323 cont./

776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).

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• [115] 10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard ~~him~~ interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bĩxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

776 *[192] b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not created by another, "kã̄ δaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom; and she, too, "ko δaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

/324 cont./

776 to the Holy Mother of God (11).

[115] [177] 11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Juruparí, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

*[192] They call God O'Ī-kō̃, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'Ī, bone, and the ending of max-kō̃, son. Therefore O'Ī-kō̃ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'Ī-kó or O'Ī-kō. O'Ī-kō means "daughter of the bone" (from O'Ī, bone and max-kō, daughter); O'Ī-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of OĪ-kō̃.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. OĪ-kō̃ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'Ī-kō or OĪ-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'Ī-kō̃ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

*[192] /325/ c) OĪ-kō̃, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahĪwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

776 /325 cont./
Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'Ĩ-kõ, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

• [115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra" /shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wĩx-tĩ (13).

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774 13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wĩx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

/325 cont./

*192 /footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as correspond-
797 ing to: heart, soul, and conscience. When
774 they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis,
the natives naturally give the word héri-põra
this threefold equivalence. The old ones,
however, only use it in the material sense,
to indicate a part of the organism, that is,
the assemblage of the principal internal organs,
especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of
the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does
[756] it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre,
p. 317), the Kubẽwãna believe that the soul of the pajés
wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares,
Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but
even during life, when they are already old, from time to time
becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where
it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse
his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and
775 other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul,
775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal.
825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the
Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person
(24) /sic; 14/

• [115] 14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son
of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau,
that the soul of his mother was incarnated in
an anta, and for this reason they abstained
for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764] 16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas. [161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papurí), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the pajé or any other person.

775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wĩx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wĩx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wĩx-tĩ of the man" was wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsêri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

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776 a) Wĩx-tĩ or Juruparí (23).

[115] 23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wĩx-tĩ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wĩx-tĩ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wĩx-tĩ. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axká-keoãrõ, to Wĩx-tĩ, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wĩx-tĩ.

It is to be noted that Wĩx-tĩ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

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776 /footnote 28 cont./ as they identify Wãx-tĩ́ with Jurupari, so too many of them, to the question: -- who is Boraró? answer at once: he is Curupira.

776 He also lives in the middle of the forest, which is his kingdom, in the sierras or on the headwaters of the igarapés; never in the open places.

*[192] They conceive him as a large and deformed monkey. He emits strange cries in the forest and gives great smacks or blows on the trees, /331/ especially the sapupemas (flat roots) of the sumaúna /ceiba tree/. He attacks the careless one who ventures into the forest, poisoning him with his urine and sucking out his brains. No weapon succeeds in killing him. He eats onça /jaguar/ and animals, and also sucks the blood of human beings. When he wants to suck the blood, he does it in the following manner: first he hits the place, so as to anesthetize it, afterwards he makes the puncture; when he has finished sucking, he blows in order to fill with air the emptiness left. If someone says: "I was sucked" (that is, to mention the appearance of Boraró), he will die.

• [115] Dorotéia Brito attests that her grandfather saw Boraró many times. "He plants the clearing, has a wife and children. In the clearing, during the day, words are heard; it is Boraró who is speaking, although he is not seen. He appears as a man, with hair falling over his shoulders, with a red flower in his mouth. He further takes the form of a woman and a boy. He does nothing to the Makú, and is fond of the monkeys. Anyone who has seen him will become ill." He sucked the brains from her aunt, in the clearing, and she died there, a mark on her head remaining as proof.

[115] Another Tukano girl, Kõmĩ-ro põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia (river Papurí), states that twice, when she was looking for fruit in the forest a little above S. Luzia, she heard Boraró make a loud noise, as if he had made a shot. On another

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776 *[192] occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin, both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, *Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ*.

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called *Boraró ĩ'á*, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- *moláro*... (with the *a* very prolonged) *moláro*... (29), they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30), large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

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[194] 29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation *moláro* announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme *l*. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears *l* in some words. *Moláro*, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name *Boraró*.

30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to *civilized*, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

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776 [797] Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, Mandú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohārá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

*[192] Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

c) Bisiu or Juruparí (31).

[115] *[192] [184]

31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'Ī-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends
from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

> 32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ,"
881 that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
• [115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she her-
self will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-
called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7)). These person-
ages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger
for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the
forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

776 /333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

*[192]

> 33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

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776 [115] A young woman with a Wanana mother, and raised among them, told Patrícia Vasconcelos that on the occasion of a mourning feast among the Wanana, when they were doing the traditional dances with masks, a man climbed up on a column of the maloca. With great fright he saw, amidst the dancers, a strange personage who had appeared: he was a short, stocky, ugly man, full of butterflies over his body. That same young woman further described that Yaperíkuli (personage from the Arwáke legends and father of Kóay or Juruparí) has a very small body, but legs so long that he can reach the top of the trees where he gathers honey and fruits.

[115] e) Õ'mõãro Wãx-tĩ. Wãx-tĩ from above, this is what his name means. According to Casimiro Sampaio, he resembles a monkey. "He lives in the trees. He does not speak, but he makes noise like that of a stone that falls. He devours whole men, swallows bone and all. When he wants to do it, he lets himself drop from the trees and the demons come out of his belly."

A Tukano girl from S. Luzia (river Papurí) claims not only to have heard such noise, but moreover to have seen the deep hole that was formed in the ground by the fall of Õ'mõãro Wãx-tĩ, who has arms many meters long.

[115] According to another Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito): "He resembles the sloth. He is tame and her mother saw him many times. Nobody, however, has managed to kill him."

The Amazonian fauna has strange specimens, some already known by the scientist and the caboclos; others perhaps still unknown (34)

34. In 1945 on the road from Urubucuara to Ipanuré, some women engaged in transporting the volumes of cargo of the Mission heard a great noise of branches that were breaking, and they saw from the back a figure like a large monkey, of about two

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/336 cont./
Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40) and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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Ordinarily the native does not know (41) (this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

• [115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42), son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337/

782 796 • [115] with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones, it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out: it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to WĨx-tĨ (43).

[115] 43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of WĨx-tĨ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? *[192] [193] It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, MĨrĨ (or MInI, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the MĨrĨ is maxsĨ, people. In the plural it becomes MĨrã́; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

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796 782 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or

595 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.

881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

*[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

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> /footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurĩ́-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ́-khãra duhurĩ́ kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ́ maxsã duhurĩ́ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

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[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'ṛẽ poosé, *[192] they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽṛẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47).

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47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted •[115] that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

/342 cont./

796 [123] /footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[534] the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

• [115] 48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady.

*[192] He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back. [562]

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796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

> 52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of ỹohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2)).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it means that she will not live long. •[115] In this dance, says a Piratapuyá informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/346 cont./

796 535 *[192] the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of the circle, and the points of the lances, yōxse-phīrī, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men: all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sā̃ paasé" (54). *[192]

[123] [124] 54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." [115] Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." [829] To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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> /footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

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> 55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

[582] It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b)), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1)).

[276] Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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796 831 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur, in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56).

> 56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (*Zwei Iahre*, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.
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> • [115] * [192] It will be enough to cite the following episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the *Desana* where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "*Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ*, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

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796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio [115] Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

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842 /footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

831 [115] /*350*/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) *Legendary commemorations* -- *Rite of the cigar*.

796 538 *Legendary commemorations*. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the *ritual elements*, with the passing of time, were introduced other *profane* ones, such as the *musical intermezzi* performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the *flautas-de-pã* /Panpipes/ and the *japurutús*. Among the ritual elements must appear the *Legendary Commemorations*. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the *Wãx-tĩye baxsá* detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the *Komũá*, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

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574 Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry *Tauúcurí*) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) *Poosé with the mysterious instruments* -- *flagellation.*

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According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the *sacred instruments*, or *mĩrĩá* (juruparís) (62),

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the *poosé* (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (*waí poosé*). Even during those *poosé*, instead of the *mĩrĩã*, one might sound the flute *mawáko* (cf. 3, c (3c)), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of *mawako*, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

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776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩa baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ.
Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

● [115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

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776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wĩx-tĩ and the wĩx-tiá or wĩx-tĩã maxsĩ. /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

[115] 69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Juruparí or Wĩx-tĩ at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,' " was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wĩx-tĩ with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

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797 776 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wá:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wãx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 [115] /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

776 /362 cont./

539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucurujú /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d)· Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/: e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grandmother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
● [115] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
[222] companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
*[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waʃ maxsɨ̃ had stolen her daughter: "waʃ maxsɨ̃ mɨ̃a-wapɨ̃ yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a)· Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

/371 cont./

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539
• [115]

Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rĩtohati mÂÂ!
why I before not die you?

MÂÂ añũ-buxtyágö, tuxtwágö nĩtohapö.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

MÂÂ yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé. yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

MÂÂ dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé, mÂÂ buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

MÂÂ böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mÂÂ marĩsé-mẽra a'té nÂxkÂ-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsĩsari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

MÂÂ maigö oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgö.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

MÂÂ pax-kö wẽ'rise-re nÂxkÂtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

MÂÂ yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógö.
you for me fish from the river brought.

MÂÂ nÂxkÂ-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógö
you from the forest the fruits brought.

MÂÂ marĩsé-mẽra ỹeé-ré we:bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mÂ-kori nÂxkÂ uxtígo, mÂÂ-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô! yöö max-kô!
o my son! my son! my son!

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?)).

• [115] [535] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubucuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

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765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced [415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 765 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America, and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

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843 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the fetus becomes animated and develops.

582 The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII -- 1, a (1)). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is
837 then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakísé manapõ-tígo-ne and Wõakísé nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, in order to express, x[192]

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115] [797] 103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 851 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement. Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 847 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrepancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

• [115] [611] 113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 833 [756] In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/388 cont./

831 [797] /footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ɨ̃, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835] 121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/392 cont./
527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
*[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small
stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo
about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with
delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does
with his baton.

*[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the
dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé
as for the simplest baxsarí-nã̄mã̄ (literally means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and
to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical
instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In
the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any
meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the
movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him,
that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad,
although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/
this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic
names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts,
the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical,
whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps
of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to
tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina
hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave
tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances
that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

/393 cont./

*192 535 1st. With the rhythm tubé or ahũ̄wȭ:
Ixki pũ̄rĩ bȭrȭasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũ̄rĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã̄ (ya'sá or ñaxsã̄):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenȭ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkȭ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wã̄x-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wã̄x-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

• 115 533 Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

[126] 128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wananã, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Periku[illegible]ví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-â nomâ yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; daví kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yaví yú
Kawá-yávyá mã-ã-â (he blows the flute at length)

• [115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following)
Yê-ê dyá yakê mari
Kemê maryé-é
Kemê maryé-é kenani
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenâ yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenani wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 [115] a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

Mandú (131)

535 237 301 [291] 131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt; in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/400 cont./

*192 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry
533 nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The
534 men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his
535 rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's
right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his
/401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the
same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in
pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some
steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a
step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This
part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were
heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside
the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as
inside (yohá-wĩhyá). They come back again to the maloca, the
women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the
*[192] men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a
semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and
somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

• 115 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present
533 (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (rives Uaupés), and his probable
successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language,"
and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the
desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he
tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-
bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There
might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion
that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the
parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same
part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work
as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for
cigarette paper.

*192 With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from
534 Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

535 1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá

[115]

/413 cont./

581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myĩsé.

583 *[192] In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place

• [115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

/415 cont./

583 584 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põãperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115] 15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/414 cont./

583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

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585

[115]

3) The Act of marriage.

The abductors (14),

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

/415 cont./

585 [241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226] 16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

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> /footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

> 20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

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842 If after two or three years of living together the woman has not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

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[115] 22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178] 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

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> /footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxáua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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[586] In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

> 30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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[115] We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

847 1) Abortion and infanticide.

In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

> [115] 36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

> [115] [732] 37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri, Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

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> /footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

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> 41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736] Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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> 42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe. [736]

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844 [608] Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõá (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] [276] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 *[192] 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

[115] 44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 [178] As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45),

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

846 Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and tasks again. *[192] The husband, however, considers himself in a state of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father. For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days (46):

> [797] 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only du[illegible]g the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[302] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
[824] black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũá and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
[178] that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] [466] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

[115] 54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

[115] [648] 55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

/437 cont./

881 [797] /footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

562 881 after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wāx-tī.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mīrī-mēra, a'mō-yesé (61).

•[115] 61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumādene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than [171] thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115] 62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komūá, instructed them. It was, however,

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881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instrument "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).

[534] [778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũá. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũá, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

881 *[192] [171] [126]

> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to
> • [115] ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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> /footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõãse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

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> 68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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> 71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

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562 881 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from [192] her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mũ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means [192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious defloration" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũá the choice of the executor of the rite is [835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũá of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

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The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74),

74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Pari-cachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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> 84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the
young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, according
• [115] to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat
either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin
the teeth" (85).

> 85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

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623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always *[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũá, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũá. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũá has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3)).

The title of Komũá is a lifelong one and procures for them the [756] respect of their contributors. The Komũá, moreover, practice their activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving [755] of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The [115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

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622 [115] Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2)), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623] Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the *Bũxkõrá-Kurá* (99),

[115] 99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa Igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent
meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts
[622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often con-
venes the Komũá, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the
maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3)).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves
578 the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not
• [115] able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings
of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more
likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which
they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is cer-
tain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from
a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their hus-
bands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance.
This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
*[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women
are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or
social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, per-
haps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity
of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing,
badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural
forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
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105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2)) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wāx-tī himself. [115] We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komū Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

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614 the division of the original group (107).

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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an
614 adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
• [115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
* [192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia
Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy
(108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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> /footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced." [304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, • [115] one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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> 109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tômpa-duri, but

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

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